1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

[p. 13a]

197 Probably no group of Tarascans has great difficulty in understanding any other group. As Tarascan has not been subjected to intensive grammatical analysis, thus far no affiliations for the language have been seriously proposed.

105 To summarize the discussion, the Tarascans appear to be fairly typical of the plateau Indians of Central Mexico in type, but they speak a unique language. Both anciently and today

[text continues on top of p. 13b]

TECHNOLOGY

EXPLOITATIVE ACTIVITIES

128 In this section are described the techniques of the Cherán Tarascans for the exploitation of the environment. With a few exceptions, manufacturing processes, the uses to which the products are put, and the economic system into which they enter are discussed in later sections.

COLLECTING

222 *Plants.*—No food plants are collected regularly. Recourse is sometimes had to edible greens in times of starvation or as an occasional means of bringing variety into the diet. Most useful plants, except medicinal herbs, exist in the town in virtually a semidomesticated state. This is particularly true of the [263] most commonly used plants such as kulántro (*sílantro*),[2] the most frequently employed herb for flavoring food. Similarly, *manzanillo*, [278] probably the most generally used medicinal herb, is to be found in every garden. Discussion of these plants can therefore best be deferred to the discussions of medicine and the house gardens.

A small wild maguey growing in the mountains and in the *malpais* (lava flows) is col- [252] lected from November to May. The heart is roasted in pit ovens and sold.

222 412 One minor commercial enterprise, formerly of some importance, is collecting *raiz de paja*, the roots of a coarse grass. The roots are cut off and carried to Cherán, where they are carefully laid out in rows on sunny, dry days. After drying, they are tied in bundles for sale

[104] [2] Tarascan words are in Roman and Spanish words are in italic unless they are in frequent English usage. Spanish words with special local meanings are in quotation marks.

[text continues on middle of p. 13b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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[p.136]

165 they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

222 412 for the manufacture of brushes. The entire family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.[3]

222 388 A root, čalankóte, is used for washing woolens and is considered superior to soap.[4] It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuan, Rendón found seeds of a bush called kómerame used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called apúpen and roots of the plant pačánkua.

Honey gathering.—The one collecting technique still important in Cherán is gathering wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

222 237

[176]

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

[3] In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (*arumbas*), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild bay (?), *bapa* (*bóngakua*), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *amole*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

[4] The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1940).

[104]

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P 8b] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 One might approach the question of change from two points of view: first, how
177 local conditions lead to change, whether or not this change is typical for the nation at large, and how it ties itself up to changes in the nation; second, how changes in the national culture, originating in other regions and among other classes, expand and influence change in the Tarascan villages. A combination of both factors explains cultural change in the Tarascan communities.

121 In order to discuss the relation between folk and national cultures as seen in a particular local subculture, some further definition seems necessary. We designate as "folk" those culture traits and institutions which are peculiar to the local culture and distinctive of it. These traits and institutions usually respond to local needs and conditions and we might imagine their survival (although of course in modified form) if the local subculture were suddenly isolated from the rest of the world.

National traits are those which, in the local subculture, appear as local manifestations of national institutions. They respond to the need of the nation as a whole. If the community were to become isolated, these traits would disappear or radically change their character.

121 In the following table the culture of Tarascan villages is classified according to
105 this dichotomy:

FOLK	NATIONAL
Economics	
subsistence farming	production for the outside market
agricultural techniques	consumption of outside goods
household crafts	
local markets	taxpayers
	use of national currency
	workers in outside farms
Social and Political	
family	local government as branch of national and state governments
local government as organization and representative of local interests	allegiance to national political parties
	legal system

X:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.99] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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FOLK	NATIONAL
Ideology and Religion	
unorganized beliefs	official Church (town priest, mass, etc.)
ceremonies centering around economic and life cycle activities	acceptance of outside authority in questions of ideology (Church, School, etc.)
folk Catholicism	rational point of view taught in schools
witchcraft	
total belief in folklore	

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We might attempt a further distinction within the folk level between those traits and institutions which respond to purely local needs and could exist if all ties with the outside were cut (such as the family, certain beliefs, or techniques based on local resources) and those traits and institutions which are typical of the local subculture and represent a higher organization of local interests, but whose function is largely that of coping with life within the nation, and to a certain extent are branches of a national institution, like local government, folk Catholicism. In a discussion of Indian-Spanish acculturation this further division would probably be needed. In problems of present change, however, it has not appeared necessary.

[178]
In the process of change going on in Tarascan peasant cultures we observe a tendency toward a leveling of cultural differences and toward a greater uniformity of national culture. Peasant subcultures change by evolving independently and/or by taking up the culture of the other social segments of the nation.

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In this sense we study a process of change which is the same as that which Redfield describes as a difference between a folk and an urban type of culture and society. We do not emphasize, however, the difference between folk and urban, equating as Redfield does[5] folk to primitive, but rather we are interested in the relations between folk and urban as two different segments of our Western civilization characterized by subcultures which keep "primitive" cultural characteristics (mainly peasant). By folk culture we do not mean a modified definition of primitive but rather those subcultures within Western civilization which are basically organized around local institutions and still keep cultural distinctiveness in the manner of primitive cultures. These local groups are

5. Redfield, 1947.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 579] NU34 Tarasco NU34
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CONCLUSIONS

128 The arrangement followed in the presentation of this material was imposed by the nature of the data. Sources for the different periods or for the national or local scenes were unequal. Thus it was necessary to examine each topic separately (economics and politics, cult organization, ideology) as it changed during the period considered rather than to follow, through successive historical stages, all the topics of Tarascan culture under discussion. A presentation of the latter sort will be attempted in this summary of conclusions.

●185 177 For a point of departure we took the folk culture of the Indian communities formed during the colonial period by a blend of Spanish and Indian cultures. This culture is typical of the colonial period but its basic elements often survived into much later times, and even to the present in marginal areas. These communities were integrated with the economy of Mexico by paying tribute (or taxes), by the market, and by providing laborers for enterprises outside the local community. A great degree of economic autonomy, however, provided in each town a basis for the distinctive folk culture. It was characterized by communal landownership, agricultural techniques based on local resources and requiring the cooperation of all the villagers, the importance of household crafts, little differentiation as to wealth among the villagers, and production, for the most part, for consumption within the village or for the local market.

105 621 The local government organs were under the ultimate control of higher national authorities, but had a wide range of autonomy.

771 Catholicism, the state religion, was also the religion of the local community, and the priest was supported by the village with the sanction of the State. But an important part of religion was peculiar to the [796] local folk culture: unorganized rites around technological and life cycle activities, and also what we call folk Catholicism, folk acts of the cult, mainly festivals to the saints. A number of officers sponsoring and organizing these festivals were closely connected with the local government. 794 Cult financing was provided for by the produce or communal property devoted to

6: Friedrich E-5 (1955-1956) 1958

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Zacapu

A TARASCAN CACICAZGO
Structure and Function

Paul W. Friedrich

66 CACIQUISMO is a type of informal Hispano-American government operating to enforce the partially arbitrary control of an association of individuals under one leader, the cacique, a term derived through Spanish from the Arawak (Alegria, 1952). Caciquismo is a largely unstudied and partially covert feature of Mexican culture. It has long been dubbed a "national social problem."

[101] A cacicazgo is a concrete case of caciquismo. Our primary reference is to the caci-
[105] cazgo in a village, here called Durazno, which is part of Tarascan society, a group of
[423] some seventy thousand Indians living in the cool green mountains of northwestern Michoacan, Mexico. Salient traits of Durazno culture are: a population of fourteen hundred,
128 bilingualism, plow and hoe agriculture, corn as a cash crop, adobe housing, a corn-beans-chili diet, a total absence of handicrafts, and a leading role in the radical, anti-clerical politics of the state. The ejido land, won in 1924, is administered by the community and worked in plots by families of socially equal peasants. The generalisations that follow are based on a detailed description and analysis of the culture for the following historical periods: first, the indigenous culture of 1885; second, a troubled time following the desiccation by Spanish capitalists of an adjacent, life-giving, marshy lake (1900-21), coupled with the rising control of a regional landlord-mestizo-clerical faction; third, a period covering the struggle for the rich, black soil of the ejido (1921-26), with the crystallization of an agrarian cacicazgo; fourth, a period of twenty-two years of sanguinary contention between changing factions (1926-48); finally, a period of increasingly centralized control under the present-day cacique and his oligarchy. The methods and concepts of ethnology, political science, and sociology were severally employed. The political culture of Durazno was set within the total context of village life and the larger structures of area, state, and nation (Friedrich, 1957).[1]

594 The principal structural units of Durazno culture have definite and often discrete po-
66 litical functions. The primary relations between men within the nuclear family enjoin active political loyalty that has practically never been broken. (The one known case in over fifty years in which brothers sided opposite factions is easily understandable on psychological grounds.) The father-son-brother block is the minimal and the most cohesive political unit of which larger structures are composed; intrigues must be conducted in terms of these blocks because every political act automatically involves all the primary relatives of both the nuclear families of the individual concerned (Levi-Strauss, 1945). The father in Durazno culture leads the nuclear political block. The inner core of a cacicazgo always includes the primary relatives of the cacique. The cacique leads this inner core and plays the role of an actual or would-be patriarch over the entire village. Older, charismatic caciques are called "tata," or "father," by the Tarascans. Thus the nuclear family has political functions in the village at large, and
612 these functions are especially important in defining the cacicazgo.
423 A second structural block in Durazno politics is the ejidal family, a group of one or
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